SOCIAL CULTURE

[28 THE second major division of Kaska culture to be described, is derived from those ideas and activities which reflect the individual's adjustments to other individuals. In many situations such adjustment is essential for the execution of adaptive behaviors but it also represents the solution of additional problems arising out of interpersonal relations. Social culture has been divided into three subdivisions: interpersonal organization, ranging from the family to local groups; interpersonal relations in the larger society, including property, governmental, legal, sexual, and other relations between individuals; and those interpersonal relations centering into the lifecycle.

ORGANIZATION

Family

572. 599 The nuclear family in Kaska society consists of a married couple and their true or adopted children. Such a group is sometimes augmented by the presence of additional relatives, as for example, an aged or widowed grandparent, an orphaned grandchild, or the orphaned children of a mother's sister or father's brother. A family may also contain temporarily the unmarried siblings of either spouse. The Kaska family corresponds closely to the settlement described above in which the group occupies a single residence. If more than one family live in a settlement, they usually occupy separate dwellings.

592. 596 (362) Authority in the family is ideally invested in the husband, although actually the wife is consulted in all important considerations and may also originate action by influencing her husband's decisions. The authority of the husband is maintained even if the family happens to contain a grandparent. Although under conditions of matrilocal residence, a father may offer advice to his son-in-law, such advice is not given in an authoritative fashion and, once the marriage is established, does not dispute the authority of the husband. The importance of the father is also reflected in the fact that, despite the system of matrilineal moieties, family names follow the patrilineal line. [611 614]

Functionally the family is of great importance, constituting the primary economic unit of the society. It is able to provide its own capital goods and to exploit the environment in order to secure necessary consumer goods. Cooperation tends to be restricted to the family, but even here it cannot be demanded except from a young, unmarried son or daughter. A young married couple will generally trap together, but once children are born, the man will look to others for trapline companionship and assistance. Helpers secured in this way enter what may be described as a protégé relationship. That is, the partner is often a related or unrelated youth who is taught the art of trapping, freely loaned traps, and extended the privilege of using the trapping territory. Such a partnership is founded primarily on congeniality and is readily dissolved. Sometimes a family takes along a mature girl or young widow. The girl helps the wife in household duties, but may also trap, using [illegible] which are loaned her by the family with whom she resides. "They live on you. They get no money, and live on you, helping till they get husband."

Although the number of exceptions seems to be increasing, the recognized form of residence in all but secondary marriages is matrilocal.[1] Secondary marriages, where the man is already established on his own trap line, follow independent or patrilocal residence. One of the primary factors that seems to be undermining the custom of matrilocal residence is the inheritance of trap lines. In one instance this economic factor led a man to insist on both matrilocal residence for his daughter and patrilocal residence for his son. River Joe first expressed resentment when his daughter married outside of the Kaska area and took up residence in her husband's community several hundred miles away. "Where he get girl, stay there," Joe stated and pointed out that his daughter had access to a good trap line which could adequately support the couple. A few months later his son, Ted, became interested in a part Tahltan girl from the upper Dease River. Now the father affirmed that when his son married, he should remain on the family trap line. Where a young unmarried man holds ownership in a productive family trap line, or where he is anxious to acquire his own (as was Louis Massi), matrilocal residence is temporary, merely fulfilling the conditions of bride service and lasting only a year or two. When an Indian girl marries a white man independent residence is always followed. 591 587 [591]

Interesting information was obtained regarding a man's adjustment to the country in which he must operate after marriage. "First time pretty hard for me," Hans Donnelly reported. "I don't want to hunt nothing, I don't want to get lost. Now all right." From this instance it would appear that a man can learn the terrain and routes of a new area in about two years. There is no evidence that matrilocal residence poses any difficult problems of social adjustment for the man. He assumes the authority in his own family, lives in his own dwelling and, except for offering meat and other assistance to his father-in-law, pursues his own economic interests. 591 123

Adoption of young children is often practiced to increase the size of the nuclear family. The principal motives are the desire to insure future economic assistance and to provide care and subsistence for an orphan or half orphan whose surviving parent cannot effectively do so. While there are no hard rules defining adoption, in general the relationship is assumed to be permanent and any measures taken by a surviving parent to abrogate it are regarded with resentment. Nonrelative adoption is often temporary and children often reclaimed by parents or by parents' siblings. Adopted children ideally achieve the status of true children. Admittedly, however, they may be overworked and sometimes are even more deprived of emotional satisfaction than true children. There is reluctance to adopt children who, it is feared, are not normal or healthy. 597

The private life of the Kaska family is not easy to observe. This is due to the social isolation maintained by the family, as well as to the slight interaction that is manifested publicly between spouses. While several newly married couples revealed signs of close emotional attachment, it is not usual for older ones to demonstrate any considerable amount of affection except possibly when intoxicated. Terms of endearment also seem to be lacking in the conversation of husband and wife, although a number of men (especially when drunk) were observed to address their wives as "mama." The general pattern of relations between marriage 593

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[1] Generalization based primarily on Upper Liard River data.

593 pattern may be summarily described as one in which the husband is rather consistently dominant or assertive and the wife relatively passive.

The principal material substantiating this pattern comes in the expectations of one spouse from the other and their fulfillment. Ideally the husband expects from his wife not only the obvious conveniences of living, such as a well kept house, prepared meals, clean clothes, and thrift, but usually also economic assistance, sexual faithfulness, loyalty, and personal comforts. These demands are all provided by most women. Thus a wife provides economic assistance through rabbit snaring, fur trapping, and even hunting. She supplies the raw materials for making moccasins and mittens, snowshoes, and line. While adultery occurs, it is not common and never flagrant. A wife is also careful not to gossip about her husband, nor does she criticize him before strangers. She offers him many small physical comforts, bringing tobacco, rolling cigarettes, putting on the husband's shoes, fetching his tools, and caring for him in illness. In addition a woman is more careful of her personal appearance when she expects her husband to return from a trip. A wife will also not absent herself from camp for long periods while the man is at home.

A woman, on the other hand, expects her husband to provide the principal food supply for herself and children; she demands sexual faithfulness and loyalty, but she is not as ready to demand similar emotional comforts comparable to those which she herself is called upon to make in the marital relationship. She does, however, like her man to remain with her in camp when he is not otherwise occupied. Men are conscious of their economic obligations but are somewhat less reliable in fulfilling the other expectations. They certainly do not fulfill these to the extent that they are met by women. In the event of a wife's illness, however, most men demonstrate concern and solicitation.

593 Between spouses who have been living together for a long time, there is evidence of
152 considerable and deep emotional attachment. Old man confessed that when his second wife died he became extremely depressed, took to drinking heavily, and even attempted suicide. River Joe, a very recent widower, likewise spoke of his depression and worry. In a man or woman such emotional dependence is often rationalized as economic dependence, this reason being given as one of the main reasons for a widower to seek remarriage. On the other hand a number of widows were known during the period of field work who showed no desire to remarry. This indicates that, despite his greater assertiveness, the man is, in many respects, emotionally more dependent on his wife than she is on him.[7]

593 One of the warmest, if not the warmest, interpersonal relationship in Kaska society is that existing between siblings, particularly between sisters and between siblings of opposite sex. It is significant that this quality of sibling relations, as expressed by the use of kinship terms, tends to be projected into other social relationships characterized by strong affection and friendship. Thus lovers sometimes exchange brother and sister terms of address, while two men, whose friendship is particularly warm, may call each other "brother."

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[602] Four terms are used to distinguish between siblings and are extended to parallel cousins. While the pattern of warm sibling relations is also commonly extended to such cousins, especially where maternal cousins are thrown into association under conditions of matrilocal residence, it is in the nuclear family that age is most important in determining sibling

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[7] See the discussion relating to the status of adult women below pp. [illegible]

behavior. Sometimes age status is counteracted by the dominance of a younger sibling, but 593 in general the older boy or girl is from childhood permitted a measure of authority and responsibility over younger siblings. Early in life children are made aware that they must protect and care for younger or weaker siblings, and these attitudes also tend to persist through life. Thus a widow, who has lost her parents, is assured of care by married brothers or sisters. Siblings are taught not to fight or tease each other, and boys are warned not to ridicule their sisters for fear that their mouths may become twisted. The ties between siblings do not relax with marriage and the custom of matrilocal residence often serves to keep sisters together. The most demonstrative greetings are exhibited between sisters who have been separated, while within a matrilocal settlement, sisters exhibit the most gracious and spontaneous cooperation. Among men the sibling relationship is less demonstrative and more apt to be marked by friction. Between like sexed siblings there are no taboos on sexual conversation. Brothers and sisters will shy away from this subject and may also embarrassedly avoid any situation in which a sibling of opposite sex is in sexual interaction.

Kinship

Individuals related by blood or affinal ties are designated by terms of kinship. While kinship 601 organization defines certain permitted and restricted forms of behavior (including marriage) between relatives in general, as elsewhere in the Northern Athapaskan area it is not important for regulating interpersonal relations far beyond the nuclear family. The emotional ties of kinship depend primarily upon frequency of interaction for their reinforcement. Nevertheless, through marriage the kinship system does relate families within the society and to some extent the frequency and intensity of social interaction tends to be partially determined by such relationships.

The elementary kinship system of the Kaska is relatively simple and, with minor variations of dialect, applies to all the tribes in the area. Some terms are rapidly falling into disuse. Thus frequently the grandchild term is unknown, the native mother and father terms are ignored in favor of "papa" and "mama," and cross-cousin terminology is confused.

A list of the kinship terms, ignoring tonal modulations, is presented below. The parentheses indicate that the enclosed sound is subject to elision. The term "my" is to be read before each English equivalent.

[illegible]	MF, FF, [illegible] (m.s.), WF (m.s., HF (w.s.)
[illegible]	MM, FM, [illegible] (m.s.), WM (m.s.), HM (w.s.)
[illegible]	F
[illegible]	M, MSis
[illegible]	S, BS
[illegible]	D, BD, SisD
[illegible]	oB, older male parallel cousin, SisH (older than ego)
[illegible]	yB, younger male parallel cousin/SisH (younger than ego)
[illegible]	oSis, older female parallel cousin, BW (older than ego)

[illegible]

[illegible]

609 would add by way of explanation was: "He lies." Later Richard added that he would not
578 associate with Edward for fear of imperiling his friendship with age mates. Even older
571 children show characteristic behavior toward companions from other districts. When
186 Donald Suza first appeared in Lower Post, after fourteen years spent at Frances Lake, a
number of youths approached and inspected him, calling him: "Stranger." They then threatened to hurt him. Donald remained submissive. An hour or two later the same boys had fully accepted the visitor. In these attitudes and behaviors toward members of contiguous and mutually intelligible Kaska tribes we see the beginnings of the ethnocentrism which will be discussed in connection with intergroup relations. In a last analysis the true ingroup among the Kaska is probably the nuclear family.

578 Any overt expression of hostility in quarrels and ingroup violence is rare. When people
183 are sober there is consistency between ideals and behavior so far as the control of aggression
is concerned. Even the possibility of inviting quarreling is forestalled by the fact that many people are quick to flee from any such threatening situation. Although one or two dominant and assertive men appear more ready to face disharmony, in general the pattern for both sexes is rigorously to suppress and ignore all open expression of hostility.

Intoxication sometimes alters this picture. In this condition, a number of men show readiness to revive old grudges and air antagonisms without fear of provoking violence. In English, the drunken quarrelers hurl insults replete with obscenity at one another in an attempt to provoke an initial act of violence. Before the mounting hostility can reach this level, women with their young children have generally retreated to a safe distance. Often
578 the provocations to violence remain unaccepted by either party, and the quarrel peters out
579 in a last disgusted exchange of insults. Sometimes, however, the challenge is taken up and
183 blows begin to be exchanged. While fists are used at first, this form of fighting soon yields
to wrestling, the aim being to throw the opponent and then choke him into surrender. Weapons of any kind were never observed to be employed in quarrels. Sometimes a woman will try to separate two men who are fighting, but generally women are too timid to venture close. Old Man was rather outstanding among men for his consistent tendency to forestall aggression at beer drinks; he also broke up many fights. Antagonism following such quarrels is rarely prolonged, although the resentment may continue covertly and motivate additional aggression during a subsequent drinking party. Sometimes in intoxication a bullying type of behavior appears. Louis Maza once manifested such behavior when he asked Nitla, a very pacifistic youth, to wrestle him. Nitla immediately declined. Louis then rudely took away a dipper of coffee which Nitla was drinking, but again the latter displayed no emotion. Turning his attention elsewhere, Louis picked up a nearly empty tea pot and emptied the grinds on Edward Prince, at the same time winking to the ethnographer. Edward ignored the slight and remarked: "Must be raining." Only an hour or so previously, when both had been much drunker, Edward and Louis had quarreled bitterly, but now Edward was sobering up and refused the implicit challenge evident in Louis' behavior.

578 Family life is not characterized by quarreling. Ideally a man feels entitled to beat his
593 wife if he suspects that she has been untrue to him, but not all men avail themselves of this
permitted behavior. Several husbands (including Hans Donnelly, Edward Prince, and Louis Maza) are noted for aggression toward wives when intoxicated. One such quarrel was ob-

served between Louis and his wife, Allie. Perhaps because she was herself partially intoxi- 578
cated, Allie showed no fear when her drunken husband began to beat her. Several times she 593
half-heartedly ran away. Once Louis caught her by the hair, knocked her to the ground, and began to punch her with his fists. With some effort the ethnographer and Old Man succeeded in separating the couple. Allie still stood her ground, and only with difficulty could she be urged to run away.

All open expression of hostility is socially condemned. Since alcohol is understood as 626
causing most aggressive behavior, there is a feeling that individuals prone to violence are 578
not good drinkers. As we have shown, this idea does not lead to the realistic exclusion of such men from drinking situations. Once the aggressive person returns to sobriety, he strongly regrets his behavior.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Relations between Kaska speaking Indians and non-Kaska people are generally restricted. 648
The greatest amount of such interaction is carried on with Tahltan, Bear Lake, and Tselo·na neighbors; also with the whites. Most of the Kaska have heard of the Pelly River Indians to the north, but interaction between these two groups is rare.

Socially patterned attitudes toward Indian groups who reside outside of the Kaska area 648
are characterized by an ethnocentrism which is expressed mainly in unfavorable opinions 186
and is most strongly directed against the Tahltan. Least does it influence relations with the nearby Sekani tribes, into which considerable marriage has occurred. While Kaska judgements of their neighbors tend to extol the ingroup, any direct expression of ingroup exaltation is rarely heard.

It is commonly felt that the Tahltan Indians are too aggressive, while the latter people in turn look down on the Kaska as uncouth "bush Indians." The Tahltan, as Old Man pointed out, in their attitude toward the Kaska are influenced by the memory of their ancestors fighting these more northern Indians. Mildred Lang expressed a typical attitude toward the Telegraph Creek people when she said: "Too many Tahltans here. They're too tough. Fight too much." She also resented two local dwelling Tahltan families as being too "high toned," *i.e.*, they tried to maintain a social exclusiveness which sometimes led to directly snubbing certain Kaska Indians, including herself. River Joe indicated that marriage between Tahltan and Kaska people is to be discouraged. The few marriages of this type, however, seem to be well established. On another occasion, when River Joe was intoxicated, he is reported to have become openly abusive of the Tahltan, claiming that they had no right to live in Kaska country. To the ethnographer he said that the Telegraph Creek Indians always get into fights when they have been drinking. The tenacity of Kaska attitudes toward these neighbors may be gauged from the fact that in 1945 a local restaurant lost considerable trade when the management was given to a Tahltan family. Although no organized boycott occurred, many Kaska kept their promise not to spend money in that place. Our evidence thus corroborates what Morice saw around 1900, when he wrote: "Even to this day the Kaska resent the Tahltan's assumed or real superiority, and will not be confounded with them as co-members of the same tribe."[illegible]

[illegible] Morice, *The Nah-ane and their Language* (1902-03), [illegible].

attitudes which they place on sex, and we shall accordingly pay close regard to these covert 128
aspects of sexual interaction.[33]

The Kaska tend to avoid idealizing the sexual relationship. For the most part there is 831
little demonstration of affection in public.[34] Although young married couples show considerable devotion to one another, the closest bonds between sexual partners appear only [593] ●
after marriages have endured for some time. There is evidence for assuming that tender feelings are inhibited, and that romantic affection is most readily expressed by simply maintaining proximity to the loved object. Little evidence of romantic passion was adduced. Commenting on the blind devotion which a white man was showing Dorothy Plover, Mildred Bates said: "White man more crazy than Indian about girl. Don't think Indian man do that." Richard Day, a *métis* who had been educated at a Pacific Coast boarding school, admitted having been in love, but described the effect as so unpleasant—he could neither eat nor sleep—that he did not want to risk the experience again. Love, he explained, appears after a man has had sexual intercourse with the same girl several times.

Only the man's ideals of female erotic beauty were secured. Such ideals emphasize even, 832
white teeth; coordinated eyes; a well shaped nose; and long, well combed hair. One informant, adding the qualities of tallness and plumpness, said that he did not fancy too prominent breasts. Breasts, with the exception to be noted below, have little erotic significance. Attractive clothes appear to enhance a girl's desirability, but informants denied any erotic significance for perfume or cosmetics.

The attitudes guarding against exposure of the genitals have already been indicated in 834
connection with the discussion of defecation and urination. It may be added, that strong shame is not attached to the exposure of the breasts. A nursing woman will freely uncover the upper part of her body in public, and Irene Wiley once went swimming in mixed company wearing only a pair of bloomers.

Shyness in the presence of the opposite sex is more strongly developed in girls than in 832
boys, although it is by no means lacking in the latter. It is hard to gauge how much of a 834
girl's coyness and reticence represents expected social behavior and what part is a sincere expression of confusion, fear, and embarrassment. The proportion of these motivations undoubtedly varies among different girls. There are several girls, like Irene Wiley and Flower Joe, who can never be upset by sexual attention. Younger and less promiscuous girls, however, are quick to become conflicted and alarmed by too direct a sexual approach, and even young married women will often reflect genuine disturbance when they encounter sexual attention from strange men. In the man, intense shyness soon becomes inhibited in accordance with the social expectations.

Among themselves, young men often discuss sexual topics and would readily do so 834
upon the invitation of the ethnographer, once his company became familiar. Always, how-

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[33] For recent studies stressing the social determinants of sex see [illegible], *The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex* (1949); Seward, *Sex and the Social Order* (1946), and Honigmann, *A Cultural Theory of Obscenity* (1944). The insight that sex is multiply determined, rather than constituting a primary determinant (as Freud postulated), stems largely from Adler. See Wexberg, *The Psychology of Sex* (1931), and Maslow, *Self-Esteem (Dominance-Feeling) and Sexuality in Women* (1942).

[34] The display of affection in public is increasing among youths who have been outside to attend boarding school and is also evidenced by Tahltan young men and women.

toward the excreta. The strongest attitudes of disgust are directed toward the feces, which are regarded as "dirty" and repulsive. 863

The development of childhood is accompanied by a definite change in the care which the infant has been accustomed to receive from its mother. This aspect of the parent-child relationship, whose characteristics will now be described, may be defined as withdrawing from the child his principal source of affective gratification. The pattern is not to be confused with direct rejection; the child continues to be loved passively and cared for in the family. What occurs is an emotional withdrawal of the mother, who in infancy was the chief source of affective stimulation. The mother becomes less responsive to the child's demands, less eager in her attention, more remote and disinterested in her appreciation. Stated positively, the mother becomes more concerned with herself than with the child, or, if there is now a younger sibling, more preoccupied with the infant than with the lap baby. 855 593

If the emotional rejection is correlated with the birth of a sibling it often has its initiation at about eighteen months, when the child is beginning to toddle. However, children often nurse until they are two years old, so that generally the mother does not begin to withdraw in her affective relationship until the youngster is between two and three. The process is both a gradual and an unconsciously motivated one. Its behavioral manifestations are many. For example, the child's crying is no longer responded to with the spontaneous attention that this behavior earned in infancy. "Don't cry for nothing!" the mother sharply scolds, as she continues with her work. Fretting for attention, which begins to appear in the two year old, is less tolerated, and the mother reprimands the child for clinging to her garments or body. For long journeys, children continue to be packed up to four or five years of age but around camp fretful demands to be carried and cuddled go ignored. Stella Wiley was exceedingly passive with two year old Laura. One time Laura was observed to crawl into her mother's lap. Stella accepted the child without any demonstration of interest. On another occasion Laura was clinging to her mother's skirts, whining and crying "mama." Stella continued placidly smoking and talking to her sisters, as though unaware of any distraction. Comfort is often withheld even if the child is hurt or frightened. Four year old Marie Lang had been vaccinated and came out of the mission crying. She ran to her grandmother, Mrs. Man. The latter made no direct effort to comfort her. For a few moments the girl sat quietly alongside the woman. Then she began to cry anew and threw her head into Mrs. Man's lap. Fleetingly the latter put her hand close to the child's head. Then she was distracted and turned to scold a noisy boy who was playing too close. Marie continued to sob loudly but Mrs. Man remained passive and unattentive. 865 [8-82] 593

Mildred Lang is in many respects one of the warmest women in the community.[*] Waiting for a ride at the Highway crossing her adopted daughter, Ann Wiley, started to fall asleep. She leaned her head on Mildred's arm. The latter shoved the child's head away saying: "Oh, go away you." Ann then leaned her head on a bridge girder and dozed. By the time a child is five or six years old, a clearly defined pattern may be observed in which comfort is no longer sought from the mother. The child has learned to endure pain by itself. Now children are sometimes seen weeping in solitude and sucking the first two or three 866 593

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[*] She was warmly regarded by her nephew, Harry Lang, whose care she undertook for many years. See Harry Lang's autobiographical sketch below, pp. [illegible].

866 fingers when unhappy. Withheld emotionality is displayed when an injured child runs to a
593 nearby parent. The usual response of the latter is to scold the youngster for his wild behavior and then to briskly dust his clothes. Any overtures of kindness and affection are readily responded to, however, and girls in particular never lose a responsiveness to caresses and bodily contacts by older siblings and other women.

855 The father, who has never been as demonstrative as the mother in his affectional han-
866 dling of the infant, retains some of his more moderate warmth, and we have even observed
593 instances of a father picking up a lap baby whose fretfulness went unnoticed by the mother. Thus when Richard Cross, five, hurt himself while playing he ran to his father, who lifted him and tried to distract him from crying by pointing out a horse across the river, murmuring: "Crying bad animal." Although the man's attention to young children is limited by his economic activities, several instances were noted of children, ranging from four to six, developing close attachments to their fathers, while the mothers were occupied with the care of younger siblings. Under such circumstances fathers often pack youngsters while traveling. Louis Maza once spoke of how, when Eleanor was four years old, he packed her on his back while climbing to the timberline to trap marten. In 1945 Loreen was his constant companion, trailing him all over Lower Post. Generally, however, such close attachment between father and child affords little satisfaction to the boy or girl other than the opportunity to remain in the parent's company. Physical contact between the two is always brief. In some cases dependence of the child on the father is continued into later childhood.
[348] While generally it is the boy who, beginning at about seven or eight, occasionally accompanies his father trapping and hunting, often daughters enter this relationship and, in thus carrying on their early emotional attachment to the father, learn skills which are usually expected to be transmitted to sons.

597 When, as frequently happens, the family through death is deprived of the presence of
855 one or both parents, the process of emotional rejection becomes more severe. Over ten per
593 cent of the children in Kaska society at the time of field work had lost either one or both parents. Emotional withdrawal is particularly strong in the case of adopted children and orphans who, although they may receive physical care from foster parents or grandparents, receive little emotional gratification. One exception to this statement was observed in the behavior of the Cross brothers' mother, who was raising the four year old son of her late daughter. The child was never seen separated from this very old lady who would sit with his head in her lap, murmur to him constantly, and devotedly keep flies and mosquitoes away from his face. This is extremely atypical behavior toward a child of that age.

593 Obviously the pattern of family relationships which has been described offers a child
855 little opportunity for exhibitionism. However, sometimes the visits of relatives and friends temporarily transform the family into an audience ready to laugh and applaud the child's behavior. It is interesting to observe the eagerness with which young children from four to six respond to such stimulation. Beyond that age, however, adult interest in children is slight and, as we shall see, when it appears is most often practical and educative.

861 If the child continues to live with both parents, the father is ideally regarded as the most
855 important disciplinarian. Usually, however, it is the mother who actually punishes. The ideal aim of punishment is to make the child submissive to, or "scared" of, the parents. Such

157 *181 is done with extreme reluctance and then usually with the interests of deference closely in view. The criticism of any lack of generosity, however, is a dependency motivated behavior, based on the frustration of this dominant motivation. Excessive generosity, when it appears in a very few Kaska, is probably a reaction formation based on demanding. Just as reception equals the incorporation of love, so giving represents a means of earning love. In psychoanalytical parlance, the desire to incorporate is replaced by the desire to be passively incorporated. The emotion invested in the potlatch is also partly derived from the fact that the central feature of this festival is the giving away of symbolically precious food. Potlatching for the hosts is a public demonstration of the cultural ideal of generosity and in turn gratifies the guests' unconscious passive receptive needs.

157 *181 ●573 Emotional dependence is one of the outstanding features of the marriage relationship. This is revealed in the fact that many men are reluctant to separate themselves from their wives, in the poignancy of a widower's loneliness, and in the jealousy manifested by both spouses. Our evidence suggests this dependence to intensify with time. Among old people, where we find the closest bonds between spouses, strong dependence is expressed in attitudes of mutual care, protection, and worry. Mrs. Man was reluctant to allow her husband to leave camp alone for any length of time. Old Man showed himself as much preoccupied with his wife's health and symptoms as with his own. Marriage, therefore, represents a pattern of indulging passivity and must also be estimated for its role in undermining goals of individualism and self-sufficiency.

Another instance of intrafamilial dependence is found in the attitudes of parents stressing their future economic dependence on children, and only secondarily admitting the latter's reliance on parents. Such unconsciously motivated attitudes not only do a great deal to sustain the emotionally isolating tendencies of the society, but in turn set up dependency motivated behavior in childhood, like food leeching and the theft of small objects—"symbolic thefts of love."[42] We will return to these aspects of children's behavior in describing the development of Kaska ethos.

157 *181 273 A study of the cultural background will reveal other situations whose emotional qualities suggest the operation of dependence. Several of these may be briefly pointed out, although the most we can do is to point to future problems for research. Thus one is tempted to raise the question of a relationship between drinking and passive receptive oral trends. The fact that alcohol promotes passive reactions in these people cannot be doubted. Old Man often related how drinking quickly helped him forget his illness and debility. Alcohol, furnishing a relaxation of overtaxing self-assertion represents a means of withdrawing from the press of life. In his discussion of basic personality in western society, Kardiner pointed 157 *181 533 out that the nostalgic themes of contemporary music represents the idealization of the protective mother.[43] A similar function may be suggested for the music which is most popular

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thing of the dynamics of this role and in appointing "chiefs" to direct fur production provided the nominees with flour and tobacco for free distribution. At present the government neglects such traditional and psychologically grounded means of defining the chief's status.

[42] Levy, *Psychopathic Personality and Crime* (1942), 100.

[43] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 369.

Tsaloua
Upper Liard

841 *Tselona.* Because menstruation threatened a man's dream power thereby imperiling his success in hunting, women remained isolated during the period of the flow. Widow Matoit, at Fort Nelson, spoke of willow-bark enclosures surrounding the menstruant that prevented her from seeing out of the camp. A woman also stuffed feathers in her ears in order not to hear the hunters returning to camp. A Lower Post informant described all fresh meat and fish as being taboo to the menstruant. The avoidance referred to the dislike which the animals felt for the menstrual blood.

SEX

831 *Upper Liard Kaska.* Despite a certain ambivalence regarding sexual processes the Indians keenly appreciated the excitement of sexual situations. They also sought to 832 explain the nature of sexual attraction by referring to the anecdote of an old man who could not understand why the sexes desired physical contact with each other and asked the people for their opinion. People felt that sexual desire ultimately stemmed from a desire for offspring. Informants localized sexual tension in the testes, the organs responsible for erection and sexual desire. The testes also influenced human thought processes, provoking imagery of "women" in the man. These ideas in turn helped to create physiological readiness for copulation. Internally women possessed the equivalent of testes. A certain measure of sexual intercourse was desirable because of the pleasure it aroused. Coitus was even beneficial if pursued in moderation. However, a boy might be weakened for life should he enter sexual relations before 18 or 19 years [839] of age. Masturbation led to insanity or blindness and in a child was punished by whipping the hands with a willow switch. Coitus could also diminish a man's dream power; hence a shaman who wanted to maximate his strength abstained from sexual relations and dreamed of participating in heterosexual intercourse. The women in his dreams represented his animal sponsors. Men possessed stronger drives for coitus than women and some men were more highly sexed than others.

An informant believed that people engaged in sex acts more frequently in summer 833 than in winter.[16] In summer unmarried couples copulated in daylight or at night, but always in the privacy of the bush. A husband and wife waited until after nightfall and the sex act between them always occurred in the dwelling. Sometimes a man reached orgasm two or three times in a night but that was upcommon and a mark of youth. When he was 18 the average man reached orgasm about seven times a week. An estimated six out of ten men 20 years old could copulate twice a night and three out of ten, three times a night but probably not every night. By the age of 30 marital relations were reduced to about once a week on the average and at 40 to about once every two weeks.

831 While sexual relations of a casual sort were common enough before marriage, the culture of the Kaska Indians included a notion of love and lifelong devotion. "If a man 593 loved his wife very much he would not marry again when she dies. He'll remain single all his life." Similar sentiments motivated a man on journeys to carry mementoes of

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[16] In 1944-45 we estimated a higher frequency of summer conception. Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 37, 232.

his sweetheart, like a piece of her hair. Girls might extract a promise of faithfulness in 831
return for a keepsake. No case of suicide for unrequited love could be recalled. The
ideal girl was one who cared for her hair; possessed bright, good looking eyes; showed 593
strong or "big" legs, and a wide chest. Physical beauty did not suffice to recommend
a girl for marriage. As a matter of fact boys were advised to choose a plain girl, who 832
would not attract other men and hence whose faithfulness could be depended on. An ideal bride was a girl thoroughly imbued with the virtue of generosity, who treated people well, offered food to guests no matter how numerous they might be, even if it meant using the last piece of meat in camp. Such a woman attracted visitors to a camp, always a gratifying experience for a host. This description of ideal womanly virtues suggests how strongly a woman dominated the food that a man brought home. Clearly her rights were final and by no means did such rights represent mere lip service on the part of the man.

Conventions pertaining to modesty were very important. It was indecent for a child 834
beyond the age of three to expose the genitals. No woman revealed to a man any part of her body between the breasts and ankles but apparently the breasts were not as strongly concealed as other areas—at least not in a nursing woman. Few men ever saw their wives completely naked. Women also refrained from undressing before other women. A man took care not to expose his penis to a woman, but nudity before male companions produced little or no embarrassment. Modesty demanded that a woman sit with her legs folded under her, parallel to one another, the dress drawn over the knees. In a mixed group a man sat with his legs crossed. A youth was once severely reprimanded for facing parents-in-law with his legs spread apart. Blushing followed when people called immodesty to one's attention. This indicated shame. Strict rules governed the vocalization of sexual concepts. Boys were advised not to use the terms for the sexual organs until they were "half-old" and never to refer to sexual topics in
the presence of siblings. The emphasis on modesty correlated with an interest in por- 831
nography and verbal obscenity. Pornography included pictorial and sculptural repre-
sentations of the genitals. One man reportedly carved phalluses two or three feet long 532
from wood and planted them on ridges at the heads of trails, where they would shock people who unexpectedly encountered them.[37] In anger a man who had lost his wife to a rival might caricature the latter in charcoal on a tree, showing him naked and holding his penis. Children were punished for making obscene drawings. Both sexes expressed verbal obscenity, common expressions including: "Somebody has had intercourse with you!" "You just know how to copulate!" "You have no father!" A woman angered another woman by crying, "You vagina!" Or she might tell her husband, "You copulate with me every night!" For the proper flavor vernacular terms must be substituted for the printed version of these expletives!

Patterned gestures served to communicate sexual interest between sexes. If a girl 832
wanted to reciprocate such an advance she merely laughed. In verbally soliciting coitus

[37] One informant, who had been a member of boat crews freighting on Dease River, several times shaped sticks of driftwood into huge phalluses, leaving them to bob in the current to shock female passengers on other vessels.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

Upper Liard

was sororal in type. Even a widower had trouble securing permission to marry a woman other than his deceased's wife's sister, parents-in-law showing particular possessiveness about a man renowned as a hunter. To bring an unrelated woman into the family constituted a signal for the first wife to quit her husband and go home. No bride service attended marriage to a subsequent wife. Polyandry appears to have been restricted to old men who were unable to hunt sufficiently to support their families.[38] As the informant expressed it, "Sometimes a man cannot feed all the children of his wife. He then asks a brother to stay with him and trap with him and help him feed his family." The plan required the consent of the woman, who generally approved. "When the husband goes away and comes back his wife will tell him that his brother stayed with her. Then the husband knows he has help." The younger man continued to look after the widow when his co-husband died. Children of a polyandrous household belonged to the biological father, but it is not clear how the assignment was determined. Polyandrous marriages were frequently fraught with jealousy, but physical violence between the brothers never took place. As already pointed out, a junior husband never copulated with the woman while the senior husband was home. Some women remained unamenable to entering a polyandrous relationship. The husband's brother then "bothered' her until she consented. Very rarely a man invited some man other than a sibling to become a co-husband. 595

While women worked hard in marriage they did not perform a role inferior to the man's. A wife had much to say about running her home. The husband faced the responsibility of supplying her with meat and skins. She controlled food and dispensed hospitality, from which her husband in turn gained prestige. In folk tales we encounter the motif of a wife hoarding food while the husband starves. Does this mean that a man felt insecure in the face of his wife's household dominance?[39] The following story illustrates such a plot and perhaps reveals something of the relationship between brother, married sister, and sister's husband. 593 ● 562

There was an old woman and her husband. The husband was starving, when one day his wife's brother came along. This man knew that his sister had bear meat. He met his brother-in-law and said, "Brother-in-law, you have game. We saw the head back there." The old man said he knew nothing about it. The woman hearing them became afraid and didn't know what to do. She cooked some bear meat in a spruce-root kettle but her brother refused to eat it. At night the latter said, "I thought you treat my brother-in-law right. You don't. I can't eat that meat. I'm going home." This man later spoke to his younger brother and said, "I don't think our sister will live much longer. I feel it. If anything happens to our sister don't think anything about it till we see our brother-in-law." They went away for seven days and upon their return discovered that the old woman had been killed. Her husband 593 539

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[38] Polyandry, levirate, and sororate are reported for the Tlingit and Chilkat. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXV, Northwest Coast* (1950), 215-216.

[39] See also the story titled "The Blind Old Man" in Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 327-328. We hear that "the mountain women have very little to say in the management of affairs. The Pelly and Little Salmons are about even with the men in some cases the women being the boss entirely. In regards to camp work it depends entirely on what season of the year it is, if in fur season it keeps the men busy hunting and trapping and the women do practically all of the camp work. In the summer months they help each other. Field, *Unpublished manuscript* (1913), 16.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12

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593 539 was gone. The children too had been killed. Her husband was gone. The older brother said, "Don't think anything about it till we see our brother-in-law and see how he treats us."

The widower found a beaver den and set a net. He got two beaver. From one he removed the fat and he ate the other. Then his brothers-in-law came along. The husband began to weep. He asked them, "Have you seen what I have done?" He added, "You can kill me if you want to." The older brother said, "I'll do nothing till you eat." The husband picked up a piece of fat and cooked it while holding it in his hand. This gesture demonstrated his courage. He knew he was in danger of being killed but was warding off danger with a show of fearlessness and resistance to pain. He offered some meat to the brothers. When they had eaten the elder said, "I'll let you go because your hand is half-cooked now. I'm not going to bother you. I still have a younger sister at home."

593 171 Two observations may be offered concerning this anecdote, first, the responsibility assumed by a brother for his sister's moral conduct in relation to her husband stands out. Second, the use of deliberately induced pain to demonstrate courage should be noted. Both of these patterns are strongly and formally developed in the Plains Culture Area. Not only is the husband in the tale forgiven for killing the stingy woman but he is promised one of her sisters as a new wife.

586 [254] Divorce aroused neither sharp criticism or shame, although the deserted spouse might display more or less resentment. Sometimes a man used sorcery to kill the woman who had quit him or to cause her children by the subsequent husband to die. Reasons for divorce included the desire of one marriage partner for another man or woman (perhaps a man who could provide a richer living than the current husband), cruelty, and adultery. Women did not always permanently quit husbands who treated them badly. Sometimes a wife merely ran off to spend a night in the bush. In case of divorce older children remained with the husband while infants went with the mother. When he became grown-up, a son might return to his father. Both patterns suggest the recency and superficial imposition of matrilineal descent in the culture.

587 Economic benefits accrued to a widow and her children under the levirate. However, unless the real or classificatory brother were single or the husband of the widow's sister he could not live intimately with the woman but merely supported her and her children in his camp.[8] Under such circumstances a widow would remarry following a two year period of mourning and upon receiving the consent of her brother-in-law. To choose a new husband closely following a man's death, aroused the jealousy of the deceased husband's ghost. As already noted, when a wife died her father frequently invited the bereaved husband to choose a sister-in-law as his spouse and might even insist that the latter be taken.[9]

582 583 *Dease River Kaska.* Boys married when they could provide sufficient meat and skins for a family, a girl when she was capable of performing household duties and understood the responsibilities of married life, particularly its ideal of faithfulness. Incest rules extended to include one's moiety. Each sex normally secured the parents' consent

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[8] Here lies a powerful incentive for two brothers to marry a pair of sisters. Such a marriage readily accommodates the levirate. It would be desirable to know if there is a significant correlation between these two traits when a large series of cultures are compared.

[9] Levirate and sororate have both been reported for the Tlingit. Among these coastal people a nephew sometimes inherited the widow or the niece of a deceased woman might marry the widower. Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 128.

The pattern that emerges from these reports may be briefly summarized. A serious illness would overtake some member of one of the small semi-nomadic bands. An effort was made to explain the illness in terms of bewitchment and generally some child or youth of either sex was fixed upon as the guilty party. Often the child confessed to the crime which he did not understand. "Kid not smart," Sam Bob explained. "You talk to kid, 'You witch?' Maybe say, 'Yes.' That kid big, he wouldn't speak a word." Sometimes the confessed witch was killed or else he might starve to death. If the suspect refused to admit his guilt he was tortured until he confessed. The commonest means of torture seems to have been by tying up the suspected individual, sometimes hanging him up by the heels and starving him. The remarkable thing that comes out of the data is that the captivity and torture were often undertaken by a member of the suspect's family, again either a man or a woman. A mature person often sought to escape the charge of bewitchment by leveling suspicion on a child. During periods when witch-fear was prevalent people were afraid of being accused of the deed and of having guilt placed on their children. Mutual suspicion was rife and people watched their children carefully. 674 754 858 [593] [578]

From this synthetic reconstruction it is clear that the Kaska's belief in witchcraft is best described as witch-fear, since there is no evidence of any Indian ever actually practicing witchcraft nor were the forms of such behavior apparently even ideally patterned in great detail. Thus witch-fear for the Kaska may be defined as an attempt to fix blame for malignancy upon one person for some definite injury to another. Certain other features of Kaska witch-fear may be pointed out. Very often it was not the supposed victim who sought to fix this blame but his relatives and friends. Furthermore all suspicion of witchcraft was localized within the community and often within the family. Blame did not depend upon any previous expression of enmity between victim and witch, for frequently suspicion fell on a child who could not easily have originated or been the subject of such hostility. Finally there was no elaboration of techniques for countering the attack of witchcraft. Shamanism had practically disappeared from the society and oracles were not consulted to determine witches. The sole remedy appeared to lie in securing the confession of the witch and/or bringing about his death. It therefore follows that witchcraft was not a commonplace or "normal" phenomenon in Kaska society as it is, or was, among the African Azande or California Yokuts and Western Mono.[illegible] 754 182 [755]

Although Dan, Jimmy, and Clem Loots are still living in Lower Post, efforts to persuade them to talk about witch-fear or witchcraft were unsuccessful. A number of other informants expressed impatience when questioned about this behavior and pointed out that they knew nothing of witches. They 754

[illegible] Evans-Pritchard, 1937; Gayton, 1930, p. 409.